

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 046127
ORIGIN AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 PA-02 SP-02
IO-14 HA-05 INRE-00 /056 R

DRAFTED BY AF/P:BARUSSELL:ADR
APPROVED BY AF/P:RWHOLLIDAY
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO ALL AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
DOD IMMEDIATE
JCS IMMEDIATE
CIA IMMEDIATE
USIA IMMEDIATE
NSC IMMEDIATE
XMT AMEMBASSY BANGUI
AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU

UNCLAS STATE 046127

E.O. 11652:N/A

TAGS:PFOR

SUBJECT:DEPARTMENT OF STATE PRESS BRIEFING FEB 22, 1978

FOLLOWING ARE EXCERPTS FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE NOON
BRIEFING FEBRUARY 22, 1978:

Q: YOU INDICATED YESTERDAY THAT YOU WOULD HAVE A PROFOUND
STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE ADMINISTRATION CONCERNING
DEVELOPMENTS IN RHODESIA.

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A: YES. I SAID, "ASK ME THE QUESTION AGAIN" TODAY. I
DIDN'T SAY IT WAS GOING TO BE PROFOUND. I DON'T HAVE
ANYTHING PROFOUND; I DO HAVE A STATEMENT, OR RATHER A
RESTATEMENT OF WHERE WE ARE.

IN CONSULTATION WITH ALL THE PARTIES CONCERNED, THE BRITISH
AND AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS DEVELOPED A PLAN DESIGNED TO

AVOID THE PROBLEMS THAT FRUSTRATED PREVIOUS SETTLEMENT EFFORTS IN RHODESIA. WE BELIEVE THIS PLAN OFFERS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE TO CHOOSE THEIR OWN LEADERSHIP FAIRLY AND OPENLY. IT SETS THE STANDARD AGAINST WHICH ANY SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS SHOULD BE MEASURED.

TO THE EXTENT THAT LAST WEEK'S SALISBURY ANNOUNCEMENT

OFFERS THE POSSIBILITY OF AN EARLY END TO THE WHITE MINORITY'S DOMINATION OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS, IT IS A SIGNIFICANT STEP. WE LACK INFORMATION, HOWEVER, ON IMPORTANT DETAILS OF THE AGREEMENT, AND THERE ARE COMPLEX AND SIGNIFICANT ASPECTS THAT REMAIN TO BE WORKED OUT AMONG THE PARTIES.

WE REMAIN DEDICATED TO WORKING WITH ALL OF THE PARTIES, BOTH THOSE IN SALISBURY AND OUTSIDE OF THE COUNTRY, TO PROMOTE A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT WITH MAJORITY RULE.

Q: HODDING, YOU TALK ABOUT LACKING DETAILS -- WE, YOU LACK DETAILS -- IS THAT BECAUSE THOSE DETAILS HAVE NOT BEEN DEVELOPED YET OR BECAUSE THEY ARE NOT AVAILABLE TO YOU?

A: I THINK IT IS BECAUSE, AS FAR AS I CAN SEE FROM ALL THE REPORTING FROM VARIOUS SOURCES, SOME OF THE MOST UNCLASSIFIED

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SIGNIFICANT ONES HAVE NOT BEEN WORKED OUT, I.E. THE FORM OF THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT ITSELF; AND IN THE ABSENCE OF THAT, IT IS A LITTLE DIFFICULT FOR US TO TELL WHAT THEIR PROPOSAL MEANS.

Q: THE WAY THAT YOU SEE THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN WITHIN THIS WHOLE THING, IS THE PRESENCE OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT NEEDED IN A SETTLEMENT TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE UNITED STATES OR NOT?

A: WHAT WE ARE LOOKING FOR IS A SETTLEMENT WHICH WILL ACCOMPLISH TWO THINGS, WHICH WILL BRING ABOUT A PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA AND WILL, UPON ITS CONCLUSION, MEET STANDARDS WHICH WILL BRING INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTABILITY AND AN END TO THE CONFLICT.

WE ARE NOT PRESCRIBING WHO HAS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE FINAL GOVERNMENT OF RHODESIA, OBVIOUSLY; AND I AM NOT PREPARED TO DO SO HERE.

Q: ON FEBRUARY 4TH, THE ECONOMIST SAID THAT AFTER THE MALTA MEETING, ANDY YOUNG SAID THAT ANY SETTLEMENT WOULD

HAVE TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE EAST, PRESUMABLY MEANING THE SOVIET UNION. THE ECONOMIST COMMENTED THAT THIS ASSUMES THAT THE SOVIET UNION'S INTEREST IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THEREFORE, THE SORT OF RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT THAT WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE ARE THE SAME AS THE WEST'S.

IS THAT THE VIEW OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE OR IS THAT THE VIEW OF AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S DISTINCTIVE --

A: I DON'T KNOW IF THAT IS AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S VIEW. THAT'S A COMMENTARY ON HIS VIEW. BUT IN ANY CASE, THE ANSWER IS "NO." WHAT WE THINK NEEDS TO BE IS SOMETHING WHICH IS GOING TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE PARTIES IN RHODESIA AND WHICH WILL IN FACT PRODUCE WHAT I JUST GOT UNCLASSIFIED

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THROUGH SAYING. I DON'T THINK A FACTOR WHICH ENTERS INTO IT IS ANY O.K. BY CERTAIN OTHER FORCES OF THE WORLD.

Q: YOU SAY THAT THE SETTLEMENT WAS TO ACCOMPLISH TWO THINGS, AND ONE OF THE THINGS IT ACCOMPLISHED WAS TO MEET STANDARDS. IN THE EARLIER PART OF YOUR STATEMENT, YOU SAY THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN SETS A STANDARD AGAINST WHICH ANY SETTLEMENT PROPOSAL WOULD HAVE TO BE MEASURED.

Q: ARE THERE ANY PLANS TO REOPEN NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT?

A: I DO NOT KNOW OF ANY CURRENT PLANS FOR -- EXCUSE ME, YOU MEAN BETWEEN ANGLO-AMERICANS AND --

Q: RIGHT, SUCH AS WITH MALTA.

A: I DO NOT KNOW OF ANY CURRENT PLANS FOR THAT KIND OF GROUPING GETTING TOGETHER -- ANGLO-AMERICAN AND NKOMO AND MUGABE.

Q: WOULD REFUSAL OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT LEADERSHIP TO TAKE PART IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AS THEY ARE DEVELOPING IN SALISBURY, CONSTITUTE A FAILURE OF THE WHOLE PROCESS

TO MEET THE STANDARDS SET FORTH IN THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN?

A: AGAIN, THAT KIND OF QUESTION IS SO CONTINGENT ON WHAT IS ACTUALLY HAPPENING IN SALISBURY, WHAT IS HAPPENING GENERALLY, THAT I JUST AM IN NO POSITION TO COMMENT ON WHETHER OR NOT THAT WOULD CONSTITUTE A FAILURE TO MEET STANDARDS. UNCLASSIFIED

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WE ARE OBVIOUSLY, WATCHING THE DEVELOPMENTS.

Q: IF I CAN ASK ABOUT THE RATIONALE FOR YOUR POSTURE:
IF RHODESIAN BLACKS AND WHITES CAN COME UP WITH A
SETTLEMENT THAT LEADS TO BLACK MAJORITY RULE IN AN AREA
WHERE NO AMERICAN VITAL INTERESTS ARE AFFECTED, WHY, IN
EFFECT, DOES THE UNITED STATES HAVE ANY KIND OF RIGHT
TO SIT IN JUDGMENT ON THIS? WHAT IS THE RATIONALE FOR
IT?

A: THERE ARE ANY NUMBER OF LEVELS ON THE RATIONALE ON
THAT.

THE FIRST IS CLEARLY THAT ANYTHING WHICH THREATENS A
CONTINUATION OF CONFLICT IN AN AREA WHICH HAS ALREADY
SEEN EXTERNAL POWERS INVOLVED IN A CONFLICT -- IS SOME-
THING WE FIND TO BE OBVIOUSLY DISTURBING; AND IF WE CAN
HELP IN ANY WAY TO AVOID THAT KIND OF CONFLICT, WE
WOULD LIKE TO BECAUSE SO FAR, CONFLICT IN THAT REGION
HAS SEEMED, INDIRECTLY OR DIRECTLY, TO INVOLVE US OR
WHAT SEEMS TO BE OUR INTERESTS.

SECONDLY, BECAUSE WE THINK THAT THE PEOPLE IN THE
COUNTRIES UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES -- THEIR OWN FUTURE --
FOR ALL, WHITE AND BLACK, WILL BE BEST SERVED BY A
SOLUTION THAT WOULD GUARANTEE SOME KIND OF STABILITY AND
PEACE.

NOW INSOFAR AS DIRECT INTEREST GOES, I SUPPOSE IT CAN
BE ARGUED THAT WE DON'T HAVE THEM. BUT IN THE LARGER
SENSE, WE HAVE QUITE A FEW THERE.

Q: I KNOW BUT WHAT I AM ASKING, IN EFFECT, IS: DON'T
THE PEOPLE OF THE BLACK -- THE BLACK REPRESENTATIVES
WITHIN RHODESIA, AND THE WHITE REPRESENTATIVES IN
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RHODESIA -- DON'T YOU FIND THEM COMPETENT OF DETERMINING
THEIR OWN ON THEIR OWN, WHAT WILL BE STABLE, AND WHAT
WILL BE WORKABLE?

A: YES, I AM BEING VERY CAREFUL NOT TO SUGGEST THAT
PEOPLE ON THE GROUND IN THE COUNTRY CAN (OR CAN'T) DO
ANYTHING. WHAT I AM JUST SAYING IS THAT AT THIS STAGE

WHERE WE ARE, IT IS A STAGE IN WHICH I AM REALLY NOT
COMPETENT TO SAY MUCH MORE THAN WHAT I HAVE JUST SAID.
WE WILL JUST HAVE TO SEE WHAT IS RESOLVED.

Q: HODDING, IN THE PAST THE SECRETARY WAS QUITE CLEAR
THAT THE UNITED STATES REJECTED THE IDEA OF AN INTERNAL
SOLUTION.

NOW THIS STATEMENT SEEMS TO INDICATE THAT YOU ARE BACKING
AWAY, AT LEAST A SHADE, FROM TOTAL REJECTION. CAN WE
SAY THAT THERE HAS BEEN A SHIFT IN U.S. POLICY ON THAT?

A: I WOULDN'T WANT TO DRAW A CONCLUSION FOR YOU, AT
ALL. I JUST SIMPLY WOULD SAY THAT OUR POSITION IS
AS MUCH STATED IN THE FIRST PARAGRAPH OF WHAT I JUST
GOT THROUGH READING, AS IT IS IN THE SECOND; AND THAT WE
BELIEVE THAT THE MOVEMENT THAT HAS BEEN REPORTED IN

SALISBURY IS SIGNIFICANT, AND A SIGNIFICANT STEP IN THE
RIGHT DIRECTION.

AND THEREFORE, I AM NOT ABOUT TO SIT HERE AND TELL YOU
THAT WE DO NOT VIEW THAT IN A POSITIVE WAY.

THE PROBLEM IS THAT FOR ME TO GO ANY FURTHER THAN THAT IS

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TO PRETEND INFORMATION AND PRETEND TO A COMPLETION OF A
PROCESS WHICH HASN'T GONE FAR ENOUGH.

Q: HODDING, I CAN'T QUITE GRASP,PICKING UP WHERE OZZIE
LEFT OFF, AND I DON'T THINK YOU REALLY DEALT WITH HIS
QUESTION.

I CAN'T GRASP THE INTERNATIONAL STANDARD OR ACCEPTANCE
YOU ARE LOOKING FOR. SURELY YOU DIDN'T MEAN INTERNATIONAL
STANDARDS OF ELECTIONS BECAUSE THERE AREN'T A DOZEN
COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD THAT HAVE THE KIND OF ELECTIONS
YOU WANT RHODESIA TO HAVE.

SO WHAT IS IT? THE SETTLEMENT HAS TO WHAT? PASS THE
MAJORITY TEST TO INTERNATIONALLY BE ACCEPTABLE BY MOST
AFRICAN COUNTRIES, MOST -- ? YOU HAVE RULED OUT THE
SOVIET BLOC IN ANSWER TO ANOTHER QUESTION, YOU SAID
YOU DIDN'T CARE WHAT THE SOVIETS THOUGHT ABOUT WHAT
HAPPENED. WHAT INTERNATIONAL STANDARD? WHAT ARE YOU
TALKING ABOUT? I HAVE NO IDEA -- UNLESS YOU MUST MEAN
IN -- JUST MEAN IN A "JEFFERSONIAN WAY" YOU KNOW THAT --
"FREE ELECTIONS ARE A GOOD THING AND WE HOPED ALL

COUNTRIES HAVE THEM."

A: I'LL TAKE THAT DODGE, CERTAINLY.

BUT BEYOND THAT WHAT I AM SPEAKING OF SPECIFICALLY IS A WIDE ENOUGH ACCEPTANCE AS TO MAKE THE CLIMATE AND THE PROBABILITY FOR FUTURE CONFLICTS CONSIDERABLY LESS THAN IT WOULD BE IF THERE WERE NOT SUCH ACCEPTANCE AND ACCEPTABILITY IN WHAT WAS DONE.

Q: THAT'S WHAT YOU WERE TELLING DICK, AND I THOUGHT THAT WENT TO THE FORCES IN AND OUT OF RHODESIA.

A: IT HAS TO DO WITH WHAT KIND OF CONDITIONS WE REALLY
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WOULD LIKE TO SEE AS A RESULT OF WHATEVER AGREEMENTS ARE REACHED. AND I DON'T REALLY HAVE TO DRAW THE BIG PICTURE AS TO WHAT THAT MEANS. I MEAN, IT SIMPLY MEANS:

IF WHAT IS DONE SEEMS TO RUN SQUARELY IN THE FACE OF A REAL TRANSITION, THE MAJORITY RULE AND A PROCESS WHICH IS SEEN TO BE FAIR AND OPEN -- THEN THE PROBABILITY OF CONTINUED VIOLENCE IS VERY GREAT, AND THAT HAS BEEN EXPERIENCED IN OTHER PLACES.

Q: YES, AND WHAT IS THE CONVERSE, THOUGH?

BECAUSE THAT IS STILL YOUR CLEAR ANSWER TO DICK. THAT, I UNDERSTAND.

WHAT I AM CONCERNED ABOUT, AND MAYBE "CONCERNED" IS THE WRONG WORD, WHAT I AM SORT OF TRYING TO PUSH YOU ON IS WHETHER YOU HAVE CASUALLY ENUNCIATED A NEW DOCTRINE THAT THE SYSTEMS OF GOVERNMENT THAT CANNOT MEET THE MAJORITY VOTE IN THE U.N. -- YOU KNOW -- WE THINK ARE SOMEWHAT LACKING IN STRUCTURE OR ACCEPTABILITY.

A: NO, NO, I WAS TRYING TO STATE THE OBVIOUS. AND I DON'T THINK THAT I NEED TO GET INTO A LONG SONG AND DANCE AS TO WHAT THE OBVIOUS IS -- AND THAT IS THAT IF ENOUGH OF THOSE DIRECTLY CONCERNED WITH THE PROCESS OF TRANSITION DO NOT FEEL THAT IT IS INDEED A FAIR AND OPEN PROCESS WHICH WILL PRODUCE MAJORITY RULE -- THEN YOU ARE GOING TO SEE CONTINUED CONFLICT.

Q: O,,, I UNDERSTAND "DIRECTLY CONCERNED." BUT I DIDN'T UNDERSTAND INDIRECTLY, INTERNATIONAL CONCERN LIKE MOSCOW

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A: BUT "STANDARDS INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE" YOU KNOW, IS OBVIOUSLY A CODE PHRASE FOR A LOT OF THINGS THAT JUST

DON'T INVOLVE A MECHANISM THAT COMES OUT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

Q: YES, YOU KEEP ANSWERING THIS IN TERMS OF THE CONSEQUENCES OF A SETTLEMENT THAT DOESN'T ACHIEVE CERTAIN STANDARDS, AND ONE OF THOSE CONSEQUENCES IS CONTINUED VIOLENCE.

IT SEEMS TO ME THIS LEAVES YOU OPEN TO THE CHARGE THAT YOU ARE GRANTING EXTERNAL FORCES A VETO.

A: NO.

Q: IN OTHER WORDS, IF, NO MATTER WHAT THE SETTLEMENT, THEY CONTINUE TO FIGHT, THERE IS CONTINUED VIOLENCE AND IPSO FACTO, "IT HAS NOT MET THE STANDARDS."

A: NO. I THINK THAT IT WOULD --

Q: BUT YOU HAVE NOT OBJECTIVELY DEFINED THE STANDARD.

A: NO. AND OBVIOUSLY, FOR FAIRLY GOOD REASONS I AM NOT HERE GETTING READY TO GO MUCH BEYOND THE PLAN THAT WE HAVE ALREADY PUT FORWARD AS BEING THE BASIC GROUNDWORK AND FRAMEWORK FOR THE STANDARDS THAT WE THINK ARE NECESSARY -- AND THAT IS AN ELECTION MECHANISM WHICH IS UNDERSTOOD TO BE OPEN AND FAIR, IN WHICH ALL THE FOLK CAN PARTICIPATE, WITH A TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE, IN WHICH THERE IS TRUE MAJORITY RULE.

NOW YOU KNOW, I CAN BRING UP THE OLD ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN -- BUT I THINK I HAVE PRETTY WELL GONE DOWN THAT, THAT WE UNCLASSIFIED

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DO THINK IT IS THE STANDARD.

Q: HODDING, THE SAME THING -- THAT'S WHAT WE ARE ALL GETTING AT, I THINK:

ARE YOU IN EFFECT UP THERE SAYING THAT ANY INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA MUST BE ACCEPTABLE IN SOME FASHION TO THE

PATRIOTIC FRONT? THAT'S REALLY WHAT IT BOILS DOWN TO,
ISN'T IT?

A: I AM SAYING VERY SIMPLY, THAT WE BELIEVE THERE ARE SOME
STANDARDS WHICH HAVE TO BE MET.

THAT DOES NOT MEAN THAT ANYBODY AUTOMATICALLY, INSIDE OR
ANYWHERE ELSE, HAS AN AUTOMATIC VETO. IT DOES MEAN, WE
THINK, THAT MOST PLANS WHICH DO NOT MEET CERTAIN STANDARDS,
WILL HAVE, NOT A VETO, BUT A BUILT IN DEFECT WHICH WE BE-
LIEVE IS GOING TO ULTIMATELY BE VERY DESTRUCTIVE TO WHAT-
EVER TRANSITION TAKES PLACE -- I.E. THAT WILL BE CONTINUED
FIGHTING.

I AM NOT STANDING HERE GIVING ANYBODY, ANYBODY, A BLANK
CHECK ON THIS THING.

Q: IF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT TURNS OUT TO BE AN OBSTACLE TO
PEACE, THE UNITED STATES WOULD NOT SHRINK FROM SAYING SO.
IS THAT CORRECT?

A: I WOULD THINK WE WOULD NOT SHRINK FROM SAYING IT IF ANY
PARTY IN THIS TURNED OUT TO BE AN OBSTACLE TO PEACEFUL,
ORDERLY TRANSITION.

Q: HOW WIDELY DID YOU CONSULT BEFORE ISSUING THIS STATEMENT?
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A: WHAT?

Q: HOW WIDELY DID YOU CONSULT BEFORE ISSUING TODAY'S STATE-
MENT? I GATHER DICK MOOSE IS IN LONDON NOW?

A: YES, BUT IT WAS AN INTERNAL, GOVERNMENT STATEMENT.

Q: WELL, WERE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT LEADERS GIVEN THE STATE-
MENT IN ADVANCE? -

A: NO.

Q: WELL, WHAT IS MOOSE DOING IN LONDON?

A: HE IS OVER THERE FOR ABOUT THE 8TH OR 9TH TIME IN THE
LAST SIX MONTHS, TALKING TO DAVID OWEN ABOUT CURRENT
STATUS AND -- CONSULTING WITH HIM BASICALLY, ON THE
RHODESIAN QUESTION.

Q: THE ANSWER TO YOUR QUESTION -- YOU KNOW, I PERSONALLY
FIND IT --

A: YES, IT IS ONE WHICH --

Q: THAT'S YOUR ANSWER FOR THE ADMINISTRATION --

A: YES.

Q: BUT YOU WERE KIDDING ABOUT IT NOT BEING PROFOUND. THAT IS NOT AN OFF THE CUFF STATEMENT.

A: NO, OF COURSE NOT.

WHAT I MEANT WAS, HAVING GIVEN THE SOUND OF TRUMPETS IN THE BACKGROUND YESTERDAY, I DIDN'T WANT TO THINK -- OR I UNCLASSIFIED

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THOUGHT THE ELEPHANT HAD WALKED OUT.

Q: I FOUND THE GRAMMAR A LITTLE BIT UNUSUAL IN THE SECOND PARAGRAPH, WHERE YOU SAY, "TO THE EXTENT THAT LAST WEEK'S SALISBURY ANNOUNCEMENT OFFERS POSSIBILITY OF AN EARLY END TO THE WHITE MINORITY DOMINATION OF THE POLITICAL PROCESSES, IT IS A SIGNIFICANT STEP."

WELL I MEAN JUST -- IT "WOULD BE" A SIGNIFICANT STEP? IT "MIGHT BE" A SIGNIFICANT STEP?

A: TO THE EXTENT THAT IT DOES, IT IS.

Q: WELL, BUT YOU DON'T KNOW THE EXTENT TO WHICH IT DOES.

A: THAT'S RIGHT.

Q: SO HOW CAN YOU SAY THAT IT'S A SIGNIFICANT STEP. YOU HAVE NO IDEA.

A: WELL, IT HAS TO DO WITH VERB TENSES. WHAT WE ARE SUGGESTING IS THAT IF IT IS, IT IS.

Q: BUT YOU CAN'T PUT THAT IN A LEAD STORY.

A: BUT I'M TELLING YOU, THE REASON THIS IS SO CONDITIONAL IS THAT WE DO NOT YET HAVE THE SHAPE OF THE ENTIRE AGREEMENT. NOBODY DOES.

Q: SO WHY ARE YOU CONSIDERING IT AS A SIGNIFICANT STEP UNTIL YOU HAVE --

A: BECAUSE OF WHAT HAS BEEN ANNOUNCED IN SOME OF THE UNCLASSIFIED

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SPECIFICS, SEEM TO BE USEFUL.

Q: CAN YOU TELL US EXQCTLY WHAT IN THE SPECIFICS LEADS YOU TO THINK IT IS USEFUL?

A: I HAVE ALREADY TOLD YOU BEFORE, THAT WE CONSIDER ANY ENDORSEMENT OF THE MAJORITY RULE, USEFUL.

Q: BUT WHAT SPECIFICALLY, YOU KNOW?

A: EXCEPT NOT WITH THE SAME QUALIFICATIONS, GEORGE, AS YOU KNOW BETTER THAN ME -- SOME OF YOUR --

Q: I STILL DON'T UNDERSTAND EXACTLY WHAT -- SOMEBODY -- WHAT "SMITH" SAID OR SOMEBODY ELSE SAID THAT LEADS YOU TO THINK THAT IT MIGHT BE A SIGNIFICANT STEP.

A: THE PARTICIPATION OF A NUMBER OF PEOPLE AND WHAT IS BEING SAID OVER THERE.

Q: HODDING WHY IS THE PATRIOTIC FRONT MORE THAN A MAJORITY? (WHEN YOU ARE TALKING ABOUT MAJORITY RULE) THAN THE BLACK GROUPS WHO ARE IN RHODESIA WHO ARE INVOLVED IN THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT --

A: WHO SAID SO?

Q: WELL, THAT'S WHAT YOU ARE IMPLYING.

A: WE REMAIN DEDICATED TO WORKING WITH ALL THE PARTIES TO PROMOTE A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT WITH MAJORITY RULE.

Q: IT ABSOLUTELY WOULD NOT BE MAJORITY RULE WITHOUT A PATRIOTIC FRONT --

A: I AM SAYING THAT YOU ARE GOING TO HAVE DIFFICULTIES -- UNCLASSIFIED

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WHAT WE HAVE ALWAYS SAID -- UNLESS THE PROCEDURES ARE OPEN TO ALL.

Q: ARE YOU CONCERNED BY THE FACT THAT THEY ARE NOT NEGOTIATING AT ALL WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT -- EVEN THOUGH THEY HAVE BEEN INVITED, HAVE THEY NOT? IN FACT --

A: I AM NOT COMPETENT ON WHAT THE STATE OF PLAY IS ON
WHAT THEY WERE OR WEREN'T INVITED TO DO IN SALISBURY --
AND I MEAN THAT -- I DON'T KNOW.

Q: HODDING, A QUESTION ABOUT THE HORN.

DO YOU HAVE ANY REACTION TO SIAD BARRE'S STATEMENT TODAY
THAT SOMALIA IS PREPARED TO ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS OVER
THE OGADEN?

A: I DO NOT HAVE A REACTION. I HAVE NOT SEEN THE STATE-
MENT AND I DON'T KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT THE TERMS IN WHICH
HE CAST IT, OR ANYTHING ELSE.

Q: COULD YOU LOOK INTO THAT?

A: WELL I AM SURE WE WILL.

Q: SECONDLY, MAYBE THIS HAS BEEN ANSWERED IN ONE OF THE
WRITTEN RESPONSES, BUT THE 40 MILLION DOLLARS --

A: THAT IS POSTED, AND THE ANSWER TAKES ABOUT A PAGE AND
A HALF. THAT'S SPARE PARTS QUESTION?

Q: YES.

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A: YES. IT'S POSTED AND IT'S ABOUT A PAGE AND A HALF. VANCE

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APPROVED BY:AF/S:DKPETTERSON

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TO AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
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AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
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Q: ON FEBRUARY 4TH, THE ECONOMIST SAID THAT AFTER THE MALTA MEETING, ANDY YOUNG SAID THAT ANY SETTLEMENT WOULD HAVE TO BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE EAST, PRESUMABLY MEANING THE SOVIET UNION. THE ECONOMIST COMMENTED THAT THIS ASSUMES THAT THE SOVIET UNION'S INTEREST IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THEREFORE, THE SORT OF RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT THAT WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE ARE THE SAME AS THE WEST'S.

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WHICH ANY SETTLEMENT PROPOSAL WOULD HAVE TO BE MEASURED.

Q: ARE THERE ANY PLANS TO REOPEN NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE
PATRIOTIC FRONT?

A: I DO NOT KNOW OF ANY CURRENT PLANS FOR -- EXCUSE ME,
YOU MEAN BETWEEN ANGLO-AMERICANS AND --

Q: RIGHT, SUCH AS WITH MALTA.

A: I DO NOT KNOW OF ANY CURRENT PLANS FOR THAT KIND
OF GROUPING GETTING TOGETHER -- ANGLO-AMERICAN AND
NKOMO AND MUGABE.

Q: WOULD REFUSAL OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT LEADERSHIP TO
TAKE PART IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AS THEY ARE DEVELOPING
IN SALISBURY, CONSTITUTE A FAILURE OF THE WHOLE PROCESS

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TO MEET THE STANDARDS SET FORTH IN THE ANGLO-AMERICAN
PLAN?

A: AGAIN, THAT KIND OF QUESTION IS SO CONTINGENT ON WHAT
IS ACTUALLY HAPPENING IN SALISBURY, WHAT IS HAPPENING
GENERALLY, THAT I JUST AM IN NO POSITION TO COMMENT ON
WHETHER OR NOT THAT WOULD CONSTITUTE A FAILURE TO MEET
STANDARDS.

WE ARE OBVIOUSLY, WATCHING THE DEVELOPMENTS.

Q: IF I CAN ASK ABOUT THE RATIONALE FOR YOUR POSTURE:
IF RHODESIAN BLACKS AND WHITES CAN COME UP WITH A
SETTLEMENT THAT LEADS TO BLACK MAJORITY RULE IN AN AREA
WHERE NO AMERICAN VITAL INTERESTS ARE AFFECTED, WHY, IN
EFFECT, DOES THE UNITED STATES HAVE ANY KIND OF RIGHT
TO SIT IN JUDGMENT ON THIS? WHAT IS THE RATIONALE FOR
IT?

A: THERE ARE ANY NUMBER OF LEVELS ON THE RATIONALE ON
THAT.

THE FIRST IS CLEARLY THAT ANYTHING WHICH THREATENS A
CONTINUATION OF CONFLICT IN AN AREA WHICH HAS ALREADY
SEEN EXTERNAL POWERS INVOLVED IN A CONFLICT -- IS SOME-
THING WE FIND TO BE OBVIOUSLY DISTURBING; AND IF WE CAN
HELP IN ANY WAY TO AVOID THAT KIND OF CONFLICT, WE
WOULD LIKE TO BECAUSE SO FAR, CONFLICT IN THAT REGION
HAS SEEMED, INDIRECTLY OR DIRECTLY, TO INVOLVE US OR
WHAT SEEMS TO BE OUR INTERESTS.

SECONDLY, BECAUSE WE THINK THAT THE PEOPLE IN THE
COUNTRIES UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES -- THEIR OWN FUTURE --
FOR ALL, WHITE AND BLACK, WILL BE BEST SERVED BY A
SOLUTION THAT WOULD GUARANTEE SOME KIND OF STABILITY AND
PEACE.

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NOW INSOFAR AS DIRECT INTEREST GOES, I SUPPOSE IT CAN
BE ARGUED THAT WE DON'T HAVE THEM. BUT IN THE LARGER
SENSE, WE HAVE QUITE A FEW THERE.

Q: I KNOW BUT WHAT I AM ASKING, IN EFFECT, IS: DON'T
THE PEOPLE OF THE BLACK -- THE BLACK REPRESENTATIVES
WITHIN RHODESIA, AND THE WHITE REPRESENTATIVES IN
RHODESIA -- DON'T YOU FIND THEM COMPETENT OF DETERMINING
THEIR OWN ON THEIR OWN, WHAT WILL BE STABLE, AND WHAT
WILL BE WORKABLE?

A: YES, I AM BEING VERY CAREFUL NOT TO SUGGEST THAT
PEOPLE ON THE GROUND IN THE COUNTRY CAN (OR CAN'T) DO
ANYTHING. WHAT I AM JUST SAYING IS THAT AT THIS STAGE
WHERE WE ARE, IT IS A STAGE IN WHICH I AM REALLY NOT
COMPETENT TO SAY MUCH MORE THAN WHAT I HAVE JUST SAID.
WE WILL JUST HAVE TO SEE WHAT IS RESOLVED.

Q: HODDING, IN THE PAST THE SECRETARY WAS QUITE CLEAR

THAT THE UNITED STATES REJECTED THE IDEA OF AN INTERNAL SOLUTION.

NOW THIS STATEMENT SEEMS TO INDICATE THAT YOU ARE BACKING AWAY, AT LEAST A SHADE, FROM TOTAL REJECTION. CAN WE SAY THAT THERE HAS BEEN A SHIFT IN U.S. POLICY ON THAT?

A: I WOULDN'T WANT TO DRAW A CONCLUSION FOR YOU, AT ALL. I JUST SIMPLY WOULD SAY THAT OUR POSITION IS AS MUCH STATED IN THE FIRST PARAGRAPH OF WHAT I JUST GOT THROUGH READING, AS IT IS IN THE SECOND; AND THAT WE BELIEVE THAT THE MOVEMENT THAT HAS BEEN REPORTED IN

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SALISBURY IS SIGNIFICANT, AND A SIGNIFICANT STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION.

AND THEREFORE, I AM NOT ABOUT TO SIT HERE AND TELL YOU THAT WE DO NOT VIEW THAT IN A POSITIVE WAY.

THE PROBLEM IS THAT FOR ME TO GO ANY FURTHER THAN THAT IS

TO PRETEND INFORMATION AND PRETEND TO A COMPLETION OF A PROCESS WHICH HASN'T GONE FAR ENOUGH.

Q: HODDING, I CAN'T QUITE GRASP,PICKING UP WHERE OZZIE LEFT OFF, AND I DON'T THINK YOU REALLY DEALT WITH HIS QUESTION.

I CAN'T GRASP THE INTERNATIONAL STANDARD OR ACCEPTANCE YOU ARE LOOKING FOR. SURELY YOU DIDN'T MEAN INTERNATIONAL STANDARDS OF ELECTIONS BECAUSE THERE AREN'T A DOZEN COUNTRIES IN THE WORLD THAT HAVE THE KIND OF ELECTIONS YOU WANT RHODESIA TO HAVE.

SO WHAT IS IT? THE SETTLEMENT HAS TO WHAT? PASS THE MAJORITY TEST TO INTERNATIONALLY BE ACCEPTABLE BY MOST AFRICAN COUNTRIES, MOST -- ? YOU HAVE RULED OUT THE SOVIET BLOC IN ANSWER TO ANOTHER QUESTION, YOU SAID YOU DIDN'T CARE WHAT THE SOVIETS THOUGHT ABOUT WHAT HAPPENED. WHAT INTERNATIONAL STANDARD? WHAT ARE YOU TALKING ABOUT? I HAVE NO IDEA -- UNLESS YOU MUST MEAN IN -- JUST MEAN IN A "JEFFERSONIAN WAY" YOU KNOW THAT -- "FREE ELECTIONS ARE A GOOD THING AND WE HOPED ALL COUNTRIES HAVE THEM."

A: I'LL TAKE THAT DODGE, CERTAINLY.

BUT BEYOND THAT WHAT I AM SPEAKING OF SPECIFICALLY IS A

WIDE ENOUGH ACCEPTANCE AS TO MAKE THE CLIMATE AND THE
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PROBABILITY FOR FUTURE CONFLICTS CONSIDERABLY LESS THAN IT
WOULD BE IF THERE WERE NOT SUCH ACCEPTANCE AND ACCEPT-
ABILITY IN WHAT WAS DONE.

Q: THAT'S WHAT YOU WERE TELLING DICK, AND I THOUGHT THAT
WENT TO THE FORCES IN AND OUT OF RHODESIA.

A: IT HAS TO DO WITH WHAT KIND OF CONDITIONS WE REALLY
WOULD LIKE TO SEE AS A RESULT OF WHATEVER AGREEMENTS ARE
REACHED. AND I DON'T REALLY HAVE TO DRAW THE BIG PICTURE
AS TO WHAT THAT MEANS. I MEAN, IT SIMPLY MEANS:

IF WHAT IS DONE SEEMS TO RUN SQUARELY IN THE FACE OF A
REAL TRANSITION, THE MAJORITY RULE AND A PROCESS WHICH IS
SEEN TO BE FAIR AND OPEN -- THEN THE PROBABILITY OF CON-
TINUED VIOLENCE IS VERY GREAT, AND THAT HAS BEEN EXPE-
RIENCED IN OTHER PLACES.

Q: YES, AND WHAT IS THE CONVERSE, THOUGH?

BECAUSE THAT IS STILL YOUR CLEAR ANSWER TO DICK. THAT, I
UNDERSTAND.

WHAT I AM CONCERNED ABOUT, AND MAYBE "CONCERNED" IS THE
WRONG WORD, WHAT I AM SORT OF TRYING TO PUSH YOU ON IS
WHETHER YOU HAVE CASUALLY ENUNCIATED A NEW DOCTRINE THAT
THE SYSTEMS OF GOVERNMENT THAT CANNOT MEET THE MAJORITY
VOTE IN THE U.N. -- YOU KNOW -- WE THINK ARE SOMEWHAT
LACKING IN STRUCTURE OR ACCEPTABILITY.

A: NO, NO, I WAS TRYING TO STATE THE OBVIOUS. AND I
DON'T THINK THAT I NEED TO GET INTO A LONG SONG AND DANCE
AS TO WHAT THE OBVIOUS IS -- AND THAT IS THAT IF ENOUGH
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OF THOSE DIRECTLY CONCERNED WITH THE PROCESS OF TRANSITION
DO NOT FEEL THAT IT IS INDEED A FAIR AND OPEN PROCESS
WHICH WILL PRODUCE MAJORITY RULE -- THEN YOU ARE GOING
TO SEE CONTINUED CONFLICT.

Q: O,,, I UNDERSTAND "DIRECTLY CONCERNED." BUT I DIDN'T
UNDERSTAND INDIRECTLY, INTERNATIONAL CONCERN LIKE MOSCOW

--

A: BUT "STANDARDS INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE" YOU KNOW, IS OBVIOUSLY A CODE PHRASE FOR A LOT OF THINGS THAT JUST

DON'T INVOLVE A MECHANISM THAT COMES OUT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

Q: YES, YOU KEEP ANSWERING THIS IN TERMS OF THE CONSEQUENCES OF A SETTLEMENT THAT DOESN'T ACHIEVE CERTAIN STANDARDS, AND ONE OF THOSE CONSEQUENCES IS CONTINUED VIOLENCE.

IT SEEMS TO ME THIS LEAVES YOU OPEN TO THE CHARGE THAT YOU ARE GRANTING EXTERNAL FORCES A VETO.

A: NO.

Q: IN OTHER WORDS, IF, NO MATTER WHAT THE SETTLEMENT, THEY CONTINUE TO FIGHT, THERE IS CONTINUED VIOLENCE AND IPSO FACTO, " IT HAS NOT MET THE STANDARDS."

A: NO. I THINK THAT IT WOULD --

Q: BUT YOU HAVE NOT OBJECTIVELY DEFINED THE STANDARD.

A: NO. AND OBVIOUSLY, FOR FAIRLY GOOD REASONS I AM NOT HERE GETTING READY TO GO MUCH BEYOND THE PLAN THAT WE HAVE ALREADY PUT FORWARD AS BEING THE BASIC GROUNDWORK AND UNCLASSIFIED

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FRAMEWORK FOR THE STANDARDS THAT WE THINK ARE NECESSARY -- AND THAT IS AN ELECTION MECHANISM WHICH IS UNDERSTOOD TO BE OPEN AND FAIR, IN WHICH ALL THE FOLK CAN PARTICIPATE, WITH A TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE, IN WHICH THERE IS TRUE MAJORITY RULE.

NOW YOU KNOW, I CAN BRING UP THE OLD ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN -- BUT I THINK I HAVE PRETTY WELL GONE DOWN THAT, THAT WE DO THINK IT IS THE STANDARD.

Q: HODDING, THE SAME THING -- THAT'S WHAT WE ARE ALL GETTING AT, I THINK:

ARE YOU IN EFFECT UP THERE SAYING THAT ANY INTERNAL SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA MUST BE ACCEPTABLE IN SOME FASHION TO THE PATRIOTIC FRONT? THAT'S REALLY WHAT IT BOILS DOWN TO, ISN'T IT?

A: I AM SAYING VERY SIMPLY, THAT WE BELIEVE THERE ARE SOME STANDARDS WHICH HAVE TO BE MET.

THAT DOES NOT MEAN THAT ANYBODY AUTOMATICALLY, INSIDE OR ANYWHERE ELSE, HAS AN AUTOMATIC VETO. IT DOES MEAN, WE THINK, THAT MOST PLANS WHICH DO NOT MEET CERTAIN STANDARDS, WILL HAVE, NOT A VETO, BUT A BUILT IN DEFECT WHICH WE BELIEVE IS GOING TO ULTIMATELY BE VERY DESTRUCTIVE TO WHATEVER TRANSITION TAKES PLACE -- I.E. THAT WILL BE CONTINUED FIGHTING.

I AM NOT STANDING HERE GIVING ANYBODY, ANYBODY, A BLANK CHECK ON THIS THING.

Q: IF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT TURNS OUT TO BE AN OBSTACLE TO UNCLASSIFIED

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PEACE, THE UNITED STATES WOULD NOT SHRINK FROM SAYING SO. IS THAT CORRECT?

A: I WOULD THINK WE WOULD NOT SHRINK FROM SAYING IT IF ANY PARTY IN THIS TURNED OUT TO BE AN OBSTACLE TO PEACEFUL, ORDERLY TRANSITION.

Q: HOW WIDELY DID YOU CONSULT BEFORE ISSUING THIS STATEMENT?

A: WHAT?

Q: HOW WIDELY DID YOU CONSULT BEFORE ISSUING TODAY'S STATEMENT? I GATHER DICK MOOSE IS IN LONDON NOW?

A: YES, BUT IT WAS AN INTERNAL, GOVERNMENT STATEMENT.

Q: WELL, WERE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT LEADERS GIVEN THE STATEMENT IN ADVANCE? -

A: NO.

Q: WELL, WHAT IS MOOSE DOING IN LONDON?

A: HE IS OVER THERE FOR ABOUT THE 8TH OR 9TH TIME IN THE LAST SIX MONTHS, TALKING TO DAVID OWEN ABOUT CURRENT STATUS AND -- CONSULTING WITH HIM BASICALLY, ON THE RHODESIAN QUESTION.

Q: THE ANSWER TO YOUR QUESTION -- YOU KNOW, I PERSONALLY FIND IT --

A: YES, IT IS ONE WHICH --

Q: THAT'S YOUR ANSWER FOR THE ADMINISTRATION --

A: YES.
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Q: BUT YOU WERE KIDDING ABOUT IT NOT BEING PROFOUND. THAT IS NOT AN OFF THE CUFF STATEMENT.

A: NO, OF COURSE NOT.

WHAT I MEANT WAS, HAVING GIVEN THE SOUND OF TRUMPETS IN THE BACKGROUND YESTERDAY, I DIDN'T WANT TO THINK -- OR I THOUGHT THE ELEPHANT HAD WALKED OUT.

Q: I FOUND THE GRAMMAR A LITTLE BIT UNUSUAL IN THE SECOND PARAGRAPH, WHERE YOU SAY, "TO THE EXTENT THAT LAST WEEK'S SALISBURY ANNOUNCEMENT OFFERS POSSIBILITY OF AN EARLY END TO THE WHITE MINORITY DOMINATION OF THE POLITICAL PROCESSES, IT IS A SIGNIFICANT STEP."

WELL I MEAN JUST -- IT "WOULD BE" A SIGNIFICANT STEP? IT "MIGHT BE" A SIGNIFICANT STEP?

A: TO THE EXTENT THAT IT DOES, IT IS.

Q: WELL, BUT YOU DON'T KNOW THE EXTENT TO WHICH IT DOES.

A: THAT'S RIGHT.

Q: SO HOW CAN YOU SAY THAT IT'S A SIGNIFICANT STEP. YOU HAVE NO IDEA.

A: WELL, IT HAS TO DO WITH VERB TENSES. WHAT WE ARE SUGGESTING IS THAT IF IT IS, IT IS.

Q: BUT YOU CAN'T PUT THAT IN A LEAD STORY.

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A: BUT I'M TELLING YOU, THE REASON THIS IS SO CONDITIONAL IS THAT WE DO NOT YET HAVE THE SHAPE OF THE ENTIRE AGREEMENT. NOBODY DOES.

Q: SO WHY ARE YOU CONSIDERING IT AS A SIGNIFICANT STEP UNTIL YOU HAVE --

A: BECAUSE OF WHAT HAS BEEN ANNOUNCED IN SOME OF THE

SPECIFICS, SEEM TO BE USEFUL.

Q: CAN YOU TELL US EXQCTLY WHAT IN THE SPECIFICS LEADS YOU TO THINK IT IS USEFUL?

A: I HAVE ALREADY TOLD YOU BEFORE, THAT WE CONSIDER ANY ENDORSEMENT OF THE MAJORITY RULE, USEFUL.

Q: BUT WHAT SPECIFICALLY, YOU KNOW?

A: EXCEPT NOT WITH THE SAME QUALIFICATIONS, GEORGE, AS YOU KNOW BETTER THAN ME -- SOME OF YOUR --

Q: I STILL DON'T UNDERSTAND EXACTLY WHAT -- SOMEBODY -- WHAT "SMITH" SAID OR SOMEBODY ELSE SAID THAT LEADS YOU TO THINK THAT IT MIGHT BE A SIGNIFICANT STEP.

A: THE PARTICIPATION OF A NUMBER OF PEOPLE AND WHAT IS BEING SAID OVER THERE.

Q: HODDING WHY IS THE PATRIOTIC FRONT MORE THAN A MAJORITY? (WHEN YOU ARE TALKING ABOUT MAJORITY RULE) THAN THE BLACK GROUPS WHO ARE IN RHODESIA WHO ARE INVOLVED IN THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT --

A: WHO SAID SO?

Q: WELL, THAT'S WHAT YOU ARE IMPLYING.
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A: WE REMAIN DEDICATED TO WORKING WITH ALL THE PARTIES TO PROMOTE A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT WITH MAJORITY RULE.

Q: IT ABSOLUTELY WOULD NOT BE MAJORITY RULE WITHOUT A PATRIOTIC FRONT --

A: I AM SAYING THAT YOU ARE GOING TO HAVE DIFFICULTIES -- WHAT WE HAVE ALWAYS SAID -- UNLESS THE PROCEDURES ARE OPEN TO ALL.

Q: ARE YOU CONCERNED BY THE FACT THAT THEY ARE NOT NEGOTIATING AT ALL WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT -- EVEN THOUGH THEY HAVE BEEN INVITED, HAVE THEY NOT? IN FACT --

A: I AM NOT COMPETENT ON WHAT THE STATE OF PLAY IS ON WHAT THEY WERE OR WEREN'T INVITED TO DO IN SALISBURY -- AND I MEAN THAT -- I DON'T KNOW.

Q: HODDING, A QUESTION ABOUT THE HORN.

DO YOU HAVE ANY REACTION TO SIAD BARRE'S STATEMENT TODAY THAT SOMALIA IS PREPARED TO ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS OVER THE OGADEN?

A: I DO NOT HAVE A REACTION. I HAVE NOT SEEN THE STATEMENT AND I DON'T KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT THE TERMS IN WHICH HE CAST IT, OR ANYTHING ELSE.

Q: COULD YOU LOOK INTO THAT?

A: WELL I AM SURE WE WILL.

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Q: SECONDLY, MAYBE THIS HAS BEEN ANSWERED IN ONE OF THE WRITTEN RESPONSES, BUT THE 40 MILLION DOLLARS --

A: THAT IS POSTED, AND THE ANSWER TAKES ABOUT A PAGE AND A HALF. THAT'S SPARE PARTS QUESTION?

Q: YES.

A: YES. IT'S POSTED AND IT'S ABOUT A PAGE AND A HALF. VANCE UNQUOTE VANCE

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